Heading For A Long Stay In Vietnam, P. 2

Fat Chance Footnote

"Not only must he (Nixon) propose social programs adequate to our needs, but when the legislation goes to Congress, he must fight as hard for it as he fought for the ABM and Judge Haynsworth."

—John W. Gardner, Chairman of the Urban Coalition, before the National Press Club, Dec. 9.

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The Rebirth Of Freedom—Or Of Fascism?

In the middle of the next decade, in 1976, we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of independence. There has never been so much doubt whether on that birthday, the United States will still be free. The next decade may see a resurgence of Fascism in many countries, as the pendulum swings from the permissive to the repressive. A healthy society requires a balance of freedom with order, and of social change with stability. Everywhere in the world this balance has become more difficult to achieve, as population explodes and life becomes more complex. This breeds violence and frustration, as it does when too many animals are pushed into one cage. Hence the snarling and the quarreling. In our country, on top of the universal problems of pollution, urban sprawl and youthful alienation, we are beginning to harvest in a spreading black revolt the bitter fruit of a century of slavery and another century of humiliation. We cannot cope with these interlocking problems unless in the next few years we can raise sharply the level of political understanding and social sympathy and convince the well-to-do majority of the need to forego private luxury in order to wipe out public squalor.

Critical of the Pentagon's Priority

Over the past few years a series of high level commissions of inquiry has tried to further this task of public education. The latest is the commission on violence appointed 18 months ago after the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Its final report says again what so many earlier reports have said—that the way to eradicate crime and violence is to eradicate poverty and racial discrimination. The Commission included men as conservative as Senator Hruska, Congressman Hale Boggs of Louisiana and Cardinal Cooke of New York, military vicar of the U.S. Armed Forces. "As a first step" they called for a reversal of the priorities which have given the military establishment first call on the national resources. Yet even as the report was issued the tides were moving in the opposite direction.

Not a single direct word of comment or even thanks came from Mr. Nixon when the report was presented to him. The chairman, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, could announce only that the President had "authorized" him to say he was "gravely concerned" and would "study it with care." The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains four separate speeches and interviews given by Mr. Nixon that week on football, but not one word about the violence report! The Commission proposed that the government increase welfare expenditures by about $20 billion, partly from a "peace dividend" of reduced military expenditure after Vietnam, partly from increased tax revenues as the Gross National Product grows. But Mr. Nixon had already shown at a press conference a few days earlier how foreign such calculations are to his basic thinking.

Add Optimistic Reports To Nixon

Reams of computerized statistics indicate that the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) is indeed improving—in numbers, efficiency and weaponry. But one must trust the computer readouts to accept that conclusion. It was forbidden, for example, for Americans to visit unannounced any Popular Force militia outpost in the Mekong Delta province of Angiang. South Vietnamese commanders reasoned that the lackadaisical militiamen might be caught napping, or doing something else unmilitary . . .

Before Americans can visit an ARVN division, they must obtain a letter of introduction to the division commander. To procure such a letter often takes weeks, whereas a battle usually ends in a matter of hours. In itself the letter guarantees entree to no one . . .

The 7th ARVN division was assigned to fill the vacuum left in the Mekong Delta by the departing American 9th. Though publicly lauded, its performance has been such that American personnel in the area have been instructed not to discuss the division with visiting reporters.

—David Hoffman, back from 15 months in Saigon, "ARVN Gains Hard to Verify," in Wash. Post, Dec. 16.

A reporter asked the President's comment on the statement that there didn't seem much prospect of a peace dividend after Vietnam, but that this rich country could provide all the funds necessary "for the very big problems at home" any time it was prepared to make the necessary sacrifices so "we might very well do it now and get on with the job." Mr. Nixon did not dispute the statement that the end of the Vietnam war would not release substantial funds for domestic needs—a significant key to his own planning. Nor did he deny that we had ample wealth to meet domestic problems. He took a very different tack, one that seemed to foreclose hope. He said Federal, State and local taxes already take 25 to 37% of the nation's total income (30% is the usual estimate), and that to take more would mean that the nation would lose "its character of a free enterprise economy." This was saying that the maintenance of the "free enterprise system" takes precedence even over social problems that may tear the country apart. He implied that if necessary poverty must go go on so that profit can thrive. This is vintage Republicanism. It is also the somber diagnosis of Marxist-Leninist fatalism. No radical has said anything more subversive than Mr. Nixon's few unfeeling words.

All this runs directly contrary to the best advice of the violence commission and its predecessors. The so-called

(Continued On Page Four)

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Low Cost Maybe, Long Haul Certainly

THE NUMBER OF OUR TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM may be coming down but our war aims are going up. This is implied in the passage of a report by Sir Robert Thompson which President Nixon chose to read in announcing another 50,000 reduction in troops by April 15. He said Sir Robert reported that a "winning position" had been achieved in the sense "of maintaining an independent non-Communist South Vietnam." For us this means the Thieu-Ky regime, and that would mean both a political and a military victory. Mr. Nixon did not disclose how soon Sir Robert thought this could be achieved. He said only that the British guerilla war expert was "cautiously optimistic." In his latest book *No Exit From Vietnam,* Sir Robert said it would take "three to five years" before Hanoi decided to accept this "or just fade away" but "even then the U.S. could not relax. A continuing but much reduced military commitment would still be required, as in Korea. . . ." This is what Sir Robert calls a "long haul, low cost" strategy.

When Deputy Secretary of Defense Packard returned from Vietnam, he was asked at a press conference Dec. 5 whether we intended to retain bases there. He said it was too early to decide but added, "I think you probably ought to look at South Korea. We still maintain some bases there." He also thought it too early to say whether our residual forces would include "ready reaction combat troops." When Secretary Laird was before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Nov. 19 (the censored transcript *Briefing on Vietnam* was released Dec. 10) Senator Gore elicited an admission from him that some combat troops would remain in South Vietnam to protect the air, artillery and logistical forces which would stay on to support Saigon. Since these forces add up to more than 200,000 troops, posted at various points around the country, a sizable number of combat troops might be needed to protect them. Apparently while Mr. Nixon hopes to withdraw all forces *from* combat, he does not intend to withdraw all our *combat* forces.

Over and over again in the Foreign Relations hearing, Senators pressed Laird and Secretary Rogers to tell them what we would do if the South Vietnamese army began to crumble. The Senators never got an answer. Mr. Nixon has several times warned that he would re-escalate if the enemy stepped up its activity. Would we resume bombing the North? It did not prevent the North before from sharply increasing its effort in the South. The *Washington Post* in a scathing editorial Dec. 17 wondered whether the know-how Sir Robert acquired in Malaya is relevant to the Vietnam war. Malaya was small potatoes compared to Vietnam. Even there it took 40,000 British troops 12 years to defeat 8,000 guerillas, mostly Chinese and therefore easily distinguishable from the Malays who gave them little support. In Vietnam a half million U.S. troops plus 1,000,000 ARVN failed to win a victory over 240,000 enemy forces actively armed by the Russians and Chinese. Vietnam has been struggling for 25 years for independence. Even to many anti-Communist Vietnamese, we look no better than the French.* What reason is there to believe the rebels will "fade away" now?

Nixon's New Adviser Agrees With Ho

Although the captured American military men had perpetrated monstrous crimes such as the use of B-52's, napalm bombs and toxic chemicals, etc., to burn and destroy villages and cities and massacre honest civilians, they have enjoyed a lenient and humane treatment from the Vietnamese people. In contrast, the Vietnamese Army men and civilians captured by U.S. troops and the Saigon puppet administration have been tortured and massacred most savagely.

—From Ho Chi Minh's reply to Sen. Fulbright's letter on behalf of POW's, New York Times, Dec. 16.

"It should have been the task of U.S. representatives to encourage the South Vietnamese government to function in accordance with the rule of law . . . torture and the shooting of prisoners . . . are crimes . . . the U.S. should not have tolerated the commission of these crimes by South Vietnamese forces whatever the provocation in the form of Vietcong atrocities."

—Robert Thompson: No Exit From Vietnam, p. 164.

***And our ARVN Generals must look like the same old turncoats. The Senate committee staff asked the Pentagon how many of the 54 ARVN Generals fought for the French and how many for the Viet Minh. The reply was that 50 fought for the French and "two served with the French and Viet Minh." When we inquired at the Pentagon what this meant, we were told these defected from the Viet Minh to the French. So 52 of the 54 fought against their own people. (See p. 144 of *Briefing on Vietnam*).**

Fulbright On The False Alternatives Posed By Nixon To End The War In Vietnam

The best possible prospect for Vietnamization—that is, for Thieu and Ky and for the Nixon Administration's prestige—is a continuing war of stalemate and attrition, with a reduced number of Americans reverting to their pre-1965 "advisory" role in a semi-permanent war of counter-insurgency. For the Vietnamese people this would mean continuing terror and death for the indefinite future.

The weakness of "Vietnamization" is the weakness of the South Vietnamese government itself. Its claim to legitimacy is based on rigged elections. In his speech of Nov. 3, President Nixon said that "we really have only two choices open to us: either 'precipitate' withdrawal or Vietnamization." There is a third and better option: the negotiation of arrangements for a new interim government in South Vietnam, for elections conducted by the interim coalition regime with or without international supervision, and for complete American withdrawal.

There is good reason to believe that in return the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese would be willing to make significant concessions. They have already indicated that they would not expect total American withdrawal prior to substantive negotiation but only a commitment to a definite schedule for withdrawal. They have already indicated that a transitional government need not necessarily include members of the National Liberation Front.

In addition the North Vietnamese government is on record as being willing to accept a neutralist, independent South Vietnam which they would not seek forcibly to reunite with North Vietnam. It should also be possible, in such a negotiation, to make arrangements for a general amnesty on both sides and for prevention of the "blood bath" which the Administration confidently predicts should the Vietcong ever gain power in South Vietnam.

Lacking either a reliable army or the support of their own people, the Saigon generals have only one solid base of power: their veto over American war policy. If they had anything like the same influence in Vietnam that they have in Washington, Thieu and Ky would have beaten the Vietcong long ago.

—Senator Fulbright speaking in St. Louis Dec. 10. (Abr.)

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Rogers on the Middle East

THE NEW ISRAELI CABINET MARKS a shift to the nationalist right. Gahal, the party of a Greater Israel, has increased its seats in the new Cabinet from two to six, and Rafi, the party of Moshe Dayan, has a second seat, to be filled by Shimon Peres, a hard-liner who will be in charge of economic and political affairs in the occupied territories. Another price exacted by the right was a decision to establish Jewish colonies in the occupied lands. This spells trouble. It will make withdrawal more difficult and exacerbate relations with the Arabs. We hope the American Jewish community will provide a saner counter-balance to this shift. We deplore the attack now underway against the speech made by Secretary Rogers on the Middle East. We see the speech as an effort to retain some U.S. influence with the Arabs and to use this for a compromise solution. The alternative is to drive the Arabs completely into the increasingly anti-Semitic Soviet camp, and move toward Great Power confrontation in the Middle East. This would be dangerous for all its peoples, and for world peace. Both Israel and the Arab States are locked into unrealistic positions by internal politics. The only hope is if a settlement can be partially imposed and partially midwifed by the great powers in accordance with the Security Council resolution of November 1967. This is what the Rogers speech envisages. The only effective way to counter guerilla operations is to provide a stable political framework for Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza, and a large scale program of restitution and resettlement for the Arab refugees. Their plight is a moral millstone around the neck of world Jewry. Neither peace nor reconciliation is possible until these homeless have homes again.

A FEW WEEKS AGO ATTORNEY GENERAL Mitchell sought to revive the Subversive Activities Control Board as a witch-hunt weapon by filing charges against a dozen minor Communist party officials around the country for failing to register with the Board. He should have waited for the outcome of a test case before the Court of Appeals here in Washington. On Dec. 12 the government lost that case, *Archuleta and Holley v. SACB.* Chief Judge Bazelon ruled for a unanimous 3-judge panel that "mere membership in the Communist Party is protected by the First Amendment" and registration with the SACB is unconstitutional as inhibiting freedom of association. . . . How different is the situation in the Soviet Union where the brave General Grigorenko has just been put in an insane asylum (along with other dissidents) for daring to exercise that freedom of speech the Soviet Constitution ostensibly guarantees!

When A Hawk Nips A General

Members of this body are well aware that I do not have any particular antimilitary bias [but] I strongly believe that we should end waste in the Defense Department. Well, right here with the TOW missile is a classic example. In the first place the TOW and the Shillelagh are almost identical weapons but the Shillelagh is already in mass production, whereas the TOW is still in research and development. Moreover, the TOW is more than twice as expensive as the Shillelagh. And if we go the full distance on the TOW it would cost $1 billion. Gen. Westmoreland, whose desire to get the TOW is very largely the reason that the committee has put this money in for the full amount, urged me to support TOW. He gave me a classified fact sheet. He said: "Sam, you can see from this fact sheet just how different these two weapons are." But the thing that amazed me when I looked the classified sheet over was that they are almost absolutely identical with one exception, and that is that the Shillelagh weighs 10 pounds more than the TOW. But half of the extra 10 pounds is because of a heavier and more lethal warhead.

—Rep. Stratton (D.-N.Y.) in support of an unsuccessful amendment to cut a $100 million allocation for the TOW missile from the Defense Appropriation Bill. (Abridged.) Dec. 8 Congressional Record, P. 411889.

HOW MUCH HOPE of any real progress in the SALT talks when the U.S. and the Soviet Union did their best to prevent the United Nations from passing a resolution asking for a freeze on new strategic weapons systems? One can only conclude that both are set on developing MIRV and neither is ready to halt testing.

WHO WOULD HAVE DREAMED that 25 years after the defeat of Hitler, Germany would move to expel a Fascist Greece from the Council of Europe while the U.S. lobbied unsuccessfully to block its expulsion? . . . We found the new French-Greek movie "Z" intensely moving, an anti-Fascist film which seemed a preview of what could happen here, too.

To Repeal All "Blank Checks" For War and End Military Rule in South Vietnam

The first section of my resolution would repeal past Congressional resolutions based on an essentially negative view of the American world mission. In each instance we imply that military containment of Communism is the chief function of our foreign policy. The resolutions applied this principle in 1955 to Quemoy, Matsu and Formosa; in 1957 to Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries; in 1962 to Cuba and Latin America; and in 1964 to North Vietnam. All these resolutions were enacted without termination dates and are based on assumptions of dubious validity today. The Tonkin Gulf resolution is the most questionable of all.

The second section of my proposed resolution is perhaps the single most important of all the cold war enactments promulgated by President Truman on Dec. 16, 1950, without Congressional endorsement or ratification, declaring a state of national emergency at the time of the outbreak of the Korean conflict. That state of emergency—with its myriad derivative provisions—remains in effect. The Constitution did not envisage a state of emergency to be the normal state of affairs.

Section 3 is based on the proposition that no plan for American military withdrawal will end the war unless the present South Vietnam government adopts a plan for its own political withdrawal. The Thieu-Ky regime was chosen by a little over one-third of the vote in elections restricted to areas controlled by the military and to candidates accepted by them.

Under my resolution Congress would urge leaders from all religious, political and ethnic groups in the country to initiate serious discussions designed eventually to produce a new broadly based government that can survive our departure and prevent resumption of the conflict. Needless to say, in order for meaningful political discussions to occur, the Thieu-Ky regime would have to release from prison those leading political figures incarcerated essentially for advocating or attempting such discussions.

—Mathias (R. Md.) on SJ Res 166 Dec. 8. (Abr.)

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The Challenge Of The Seventies To Our Concerned Youth

(Continued From Page One)

Southern strategy which has led wags here to call the Nixon White House Uncle Strom's Cabin is more than Southern. It aims to mobilize the smug against the concerned, the unthinking wealthy against the despairing poor, bewildered middle age against idealistic youth, and bigoted whites against desperate blacks. This strategy may indeed put Wallace out of the running in 1972, as it is intended to do, and let Nixon ride triumphantly back into power on an undivided Know Nothing vote. But the cost in social turmoil will be high, and the price may make the U.S. in 1976 a police state like South Africa. Here as there the price of racial repression must prove to be everybody's freedom.

Law and Order? Or Black Repression?

Seen through the eyes of the blacks, the events of the year end are sinister. The effort to get rid of the 1965 Voting Act and to slow down school desegregation looks like a second post-Reconstruction era, an attempt to solidify white supremacy again in the South. Law-and-order seems to translate itself in this Administration only into black repression. In New York City a U.S. Attorney who has been vigorously prosecuting white collar crime is under White House pressure to get out just as his investigations touch financial interests involved in Saigon black marketing and the Mafia's Swiss bank operations. Crime in the banks arouse no such passion as crime in the streets. Worst of all is the trigger-happy lawlessness of the police themselves as demonstrated in the Black Panther killings in Chicago and the shoot-out in Los Angeles. These have stirred terrible fears.

The Black Panther raids have sent seismic tremors through a black community which has hitherto had little sympathy with this revolutionary fringe. It is amazing how many blacks are obsessed with what happened to the Jews in Germany. They fear—however horrible this may sound to decent whites—a similar fate. They see the Black Panther affair in a long perspective. For two centuries, under slavery and after, the militant has been the special target of harassment and killing. In the ghettoes today too many policemen treat suspected militants with a hatred they rarely show drug peddlers or pimps. The Chicago killings look like the climax in a series of "search and destroy" operations designed to wipe out the Panthers, and as a first step—however wildly exaggerated that may sound—toward genocide should blacks insist on their rights.

As Indiscreet and Intemperate As His Mrs.

Hot Springs, Ark.—One relatively moderate Republican state governor came away today from a talk with John N. Mitchell, Attorney General, with no doubts that Mr. Mitchell is an unreconstructed conservative. The governor, who expects to run for the United States Senate next year, was asked by Mitchell if he would be with Mr. Nixon all the way. "About 99 percent of the time," the governor responded. "That's not enough. We need 100 percent support," the Attorney General replied. The talk shifted to a possible Nixon nominee for the Supreme Court as a replacement for Judge Haynsworth. The governor suggested Judge John Wisdom of the Fifth Circuit. Judge Wisdom is regarded as a moderate. "He's a damn left winger," the governor reported Mr. Mitchell snorted in reply. "He'd be as bad as Earl Warren." —*The Baltimore Sun, Dec. 14.*

If this fear of a bloody confrontation and a "final solution" Nazi-style be paranoia, it is up to the white community to dispel it. For these fears are a menace to our common future.

Normal politics will no longer do. Normal politics is the Southern strategy. Normal politics is the new tax bill, in which both parties compete to give tax relief when we require a sharp increase in taxing and spending. We need a campaign of public education, reaching into every town and village, carrying to town meetings across the country the findings and the recommendations of the Kerner commission and the Eisenhower violence commission and all the other sober counsels of recent years. We need to convert a benighted into an enlightened majority. We need a small army of youthful Thomas Jeffersons to bring home again the lessons of freedom and of social change as the Framer of the Declaration so well understood them. We need a mobilization to make us realize that whatever our differences we are trapped together, breathing the same air, drinking the same water, walking the same streets. The rich could buy no finer luxury than to pay the cost of keeping them clean and safe. To wipe out poverty and racism would be to make America really secure. But to get the kind of planning and spending required we need a revolution in public understanding. No other revolution will work, for it is the comfortable majority itself which must be converted. To bring that about is the truest challenge of the Seventies, a task worthy of our finest youth.

As we close our 17th year of successful publishing we thank our friends and readers for their support and wish them most warmly a Happy New Year.

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